

# CURRENT NEWS **EARLY BIRD**

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## Koreas Talk in Shadows

*Official meeting set for April 11. But quiet dialogue may pave way for a food deal.*

By Michael Baker  
Special to The  
Christian Science Monitor

SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA - Is North Korea finally ready to talk?

This is the question South Koreans have been pondering since North Korea took the initiative last weekend, proposing a high-level meeting with South Korea.

Desperate for fertilizer and other aid to combat food shortages, observers wonder if this is the beginning of a sustained government-to-government dialogue.

Reunions for families separated during the 1950-53 Korean War are also expected to be discussed at the talks, scheduled for Saturday.

Given the long and fickle history of inter-Korean dialogue, South Koreans are cautiously optimistic. But even if this meeting flops, the two sides may already be talking.

Since the early 1970s, the two Koreas have readily found

the time and place to hold secret meetings when needed - often with positive results.

They "definitely [have an ongoing secret dialogue] about everything ... trade, the food crisis, summit talks," says a reporter for *Mahl*, a progressive South Korean magazine. And "the channel is always open," he believes.

Historically, secret contacts have preceded many public breakthroughs in inter-Korean relations. As the United States began rapprochement with China in 1971, both North and South Korea became worried about becoming pawns. So they took the initiative in settling their differences and began secret meetings.

Shortly after visits between top officials and the installation of direct government-to-government phone lines, they surprised the world with a joint statement agreeing to peaceful unification in principle. A few months later, public inter-Korean talks opened between Red Cross representatives of

the two sides.

Secret envoys also met regularly before the 1985 reunions of separated families and the landmark 1992 agreements on "reconciliation, nonaggression and cooperation, and denuclearization."

"Progress has only been made when it was done at the top and in secret," says Don Oberdorfer, author of a new book on inter-Korean relations and a veteran newspaper correspondent. The 1972 secret discussions led to the "first real crack in the cold-war wall," he says.

### Laying groundwork for progress

Secret meetings are more easily arranged, and promote an atmosphere in which the two sides can speak more frankly, gauging what the other wants before starting official talks. Figuring out what the North Koreans have in mind is apparently a fine art.

"There are many Korean politicians who study game and negotiation theory all targeted toward a better understanding of North Korea," says Kim Dang, a reporter at *Sisa Journal*, a newsweekly.

Official "four party" peace talks last month in Geneva were a case study in the Koreas' tendency to informality. Diplomats spent only five or six hours in plenary sessions during a week of talks. But during breaks and meals, chatting was endless, says a US diplomat who was there.

One North Korean impetus for unofficial contacts is to avoid recognizing South Korea's legitimacy. Often, the Red Cross has served as a cover for official contacts between the two governments, say historians. In the 1970s, North Korean Red Cross delegates were actually Workers' Party officials. South Korea's delegates were from its intelligence agency.

Today, South Korea's Red Cross insists it is an independent organization. But a Western diplomat says the Red Cross is still "semiofficial" and that "lots of nuts-and-bolts negotiations are done by [Ministry of] Unification officials wearing Red Cross hats."

Lee Dong-bok, a lawmaker involved in North-South issues, says secret talks are not productive and that the South should hold out for recognition

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from North Korea. "Sooner or later North Korea will change," he says. "We've seen an enormous amount of pressure building up on the North Korean leadership.... They can't make themselves an exception from the rest of the former communist world."

#### Agents at work

Present-day secret contacts may be facilitated by South

Korean agents under various covers. "Black Venus," code name for an agent named Park Chae-suh who posed as an advertising executive, had his cover blown last month.

But Mr. Park's story is not one of national reconciliation. He and others helped presidential candidates in last December's election contact North Korea with offers of money if the North would help damage

their political opponents. The scandal has occupied headlines for weeks since documents from South Korea's spy agency were leaked to the press.

That South Korean politicians would use North Korea as a political tool is old hat - red baiting here is as old as the Korean War. Newly elected President Kim Dae-jung was often painted as a communist by the ex-ruling party during

past elections. Now that the lifetime oppositionist is finally in power, he is shining light on the domestic operations of the Agency for National Security Planning (NSP).

The investigations and shakeup aim to turn the NSP away from domestic operations and toward North Korea and international economic espionage.

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## Zahid Hussain reports on the latest step in nuclear arms proliferation that is causing concern in the West

### Pakistani missile can hit Delhi

PAKISTAN yesterday conducted a full flight test of a medium-range surface missile that could target Delhi and other cities in western and central India.

The Ghauri missile, named after a legendary Afghan Muslim king who invaded India in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, has a range of about 950 miles and is believed to have the capability of delivering nuclear weapons. It can carry a warhead of more than 1,500lb.

Islamabad's move is bound to step up the missile and nuclear race in South Asia. Pakistani officials said that the launching of the Ghauri was in response to the production of the medium-range Prithvi missile by India and its alleged storage near the border.

A statement by the Pakistani Foreign Ministry said that the testing of the Ghauri represented a step forward in the nation's missile and satellite programme. "Pakistan has achieved missile capability through the dedication and commitment of our scientists and engineers," the statement said. It made no mention of where the test was carried out.

Addressing civil and mili-

tary officials in Islamabad, Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister, said the flight test had provided his country with a credible missile capability.

"Our scientists, by their high sense of commitment and skill, have shown that Pakistan has mastered complex technologies," Mr Sharif said. "The entire nation is proud of their achievement."

Pakistan had earlier indicated that it might review its nuclear and missile programme in view of a statement by Atal Behari Vajpayee, the Indian Prime Minister, that Delhi reserved the right to build nuclear weapons.

The Prithvi, named after a 12<sup>th</sup>-century Hindu rajah, was reportedly moved to Jullundur in east Punjab in 1987. Pakistani officials contend that the Prithvi missile, which could target every main Pakistani city except for Quetta in the west, presented a very serious threat to security.

"Once deployed, it gives Pakistan only three minutes' reaction time," Maleeha Lodhi, a former ambassador to Washington, said.

By naming its missile after an Afghan leader who defeated

a Hindu raider, Rajah Raj Chauhan, Pakistan seems to have revived symbolically the regional rivalry between Hindu and Muslim. Ghauri raided India in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

It is just a few weeks since the installation of a new administration in Delhi led by the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party. The countries have fought three wars since independence in 1947. Both India and Pakistan have the capability of assembling nuclear weapons at short notice. In addition, both now have delivery systems.

Islamabad claims that the development of the Ghauri was purely an internal effort. But Washington has repeatedly accused Pakistan of importing missile technology from China. Washington has twice imposed sanctions on Pakistan since 1990. The sanctions were restricted to a ban on a technology transfer to Pakistan for its space and rocket programme as the allegation was not fully established.

Washington has suspended all economic and military aid to Pakistan since 1990.

**Washington:** The US accused

Pakistan of acting provocatively (Tom Rhodes writes). America and its Western allies have long been concerned about arms proliferation in South Asia and, as recently as last month, Washington pressed Islamabad to cancel tests of its latest ballistic missile.

Bill Richardson, the US Ambassador to the United Nations, is to visit Pakistan within ten days and will make strong representations of Washington's concerns.

#### Knowhow 'must have come from abroad'

Assistance by outside countries in violation of the Missile Technology Control Regime had made yesterday's test firing by Pakistan possible, the Indian Defence Ministry said.

"India will draw appropriate conclusions from these developments and take necessary steps to meet any threat to its national security," a spokesman said. Outside assistance to Pakistan had come "despite the existence of the multilateral export-controlled regime declaration of restraint, and supply restrictions by producer countries".

India was clearly referring to China's substantial assistance to Pakistan in its missile programme. Indian defence experts were sceptical about whether Pakistan had the technical capacity to produce such

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a missile.

Mamvinder Singh, defence correspondent of the Indian Express, said: "If there is such a weapon in the Pakistan arsenal it is probably a North Korean missile smuggled with Chinese help."

He also wondered whether

Pakistan had actually test-fired the missile. The normal practice is for such missiles to be test-fired into the sea.

George Fernandes, the Indian Defence Minister, said that the Government would increase defence spending.

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## Albanian Team Picked for Talks With Serbs

**PRISTINA, Yugoslavia**—After weeks of deadlock, Kosovo's ethnic Albanian leaders appointed a four-member negotiating team but refused to start talks with the Serbian government without international mediation.

The appointment of negotiators was a step forward in Kosovo, a troubled province in southern Serbia, the larger of the two republics that comprise Yugoslavia, but it remained unclear if and when talks would begin.

## Military Discharges of Homosexuals Soar

New York Times  
April 7, 1998

By Tim Weiner

WASHINGTON -- The military is discharging 67 percent more gay and lesbian troops today than when the Clinton administration adopted its "don't ask, don't tell" policy, according to a Defense Department report to be issued later this month.

A total of 997 military personnel were discharged for homosexuality last year, the report says, compared with 597 in 1994, the first full year that the policy was in effect.

Gay rights advocates see those figures as evidence for their contention that homosexuals are being ousted in ever-larger numbers. They say gay and lesbian personnel are still subject to interrogation and harassment by commanders.

But Pentagon officials say they think the increase in discharges may be due to voluntary declarations of homosexuality -- which the policy forbids -- by men and women who want out of the military, although these officials acknowledge that nearly five years after the policy's adoption, some commanders still do not seem to understand it.

The policy -- more fully, "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" -- was intended to allow homosexuals to serve in the armed forces, while protecting not only troops' privacy but also the morale that the military says would be compromised by avowed homosexuality in the ranks.

Under it, recruiters are forbidden to ask prospective enlistees about their sexual orientation, gay and lesbian troops are forbidden to disclose their homosexuality, and commanders are forbidden to pursue investi-

gations of suspected homosexual conduct in the absence of compelling evidence.

Pentagon officials said Monday that the forthcoming report, prepared by the office of the under secretary of defense for personnel, would recommend that commanders consult more closely with military lawyers before undertaking such investigations and that some senior officers receive retraining in the policy.

But the secretary of defense, William S. Cohen, suggested that the rise in discharges might be due in part to an increasing number of voluntary statements to commanders by homosexuals who want to leave the military, rather than to hostility directed at gay and lesbian troops.

"There are some indications," Cohen said, "that there has been an increase as far as some of the people who have declared themselves to be homosexual and have opted to get out of the military."

Elaborating on that remark, Kenneth Bacon, the Pentagon spokesman, said in an interview: "We think the rise is almost exclusively explained by the increase in the numbers of people stating they are homosexuals. We think they are voluntary statements. We can only speculate as to why they are doing this."

Michelle M. Benecke, a former Army captain who is an advocate for gay and lesbian military personnel, disagreed.

"The discharges result from the fact that military leaders have not stopped asking and telling and pursuing," Ms. Benecke said. "We are nearly five years into this policy, but military leaders have not seen fit to tell commanders what this

policy is and what its intent is."

Ms. Benecke, co-director of the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network, said there was little formal training on the policy and the rules resulting from it.

"It is well documented that command violations are widespread in the field and that commanders have not been trained on the intent of the policy," she said. "Commanders are in the driver's seat without a road map. Others know the rules and are deliberately violating them."

Ms. Benecke cited the case of Senior Chief Petty Officer Timothy R. McVeigh, a 17-year sailor with a sterling record. The Navy's investigation of McVeigh went so far as to pry his e-mail messages out of his America Online account last year, before the service moved to discharge him.

"The Navy has gone too far," a federal district judge, Stanley Sporkin, ruled in blocking the discharge in January. "The Navy impermissibly embarked on a search and 'outing' mission" against the sailor, the judge found. The Navy filed a notice of appeal on March 31.

The "don't ask, don't tell" policy bars military personnel not only from avowal of homosexuality but also from homosexual acts and marriages. Discharges for acts and marriages have declined by about 20 percent in the last three years. Statements -- declarations or acknowledgment of homosexuality -- account for the rise in discharges, Bacon said.

Charles Moskos, a professor of sociology at Northwestern University who as a Pentagon

consultant was widely regarded as the architect of the "don't ask" policy, said, "The core question is, Are the statements being generated by asking?"

Cohen commissioned the Pentagon report last year after the Servicemembers Legal Defense Network documented a surge in what it described as violations of the policy.

"I think it's working," Cohen said of the policy Monday. "We intend to continue to emphasize the fact that this policy should not be abused, that there should be no attempt to hunt or seek out those who may be homosexual, and that we intend to strictly enforce the 'don't ask, don't tell' policy."

The report will recommend that commanders "consult with legal officials before initiating investigations, in order to make sure they are carried out with proper respect for the subject's rights," Bacon said.

"It calls for reiterating an earlier guidance about how to deal with threats against service members accused of being homosexuals," he said. "And it recommends better training for all people involved in implementing the policy, to make sure everybody understands what the policy is."

Ms. Benecke said that under the policy, "harassment and witch hunts were supposed to end."

"But Pentagon leaders have not sent this message to the field," she said. "We have asked the Pentagon as a first step to inform commanders of the intent of this policy to respect people's privacy. Leaders need to hold their subordinates accountable for violations. Nearly five years into this policy, that has not occurred."

## Cohen says he may allow some bases to deteriorate

Defense Secretary William Cohen threatened Monday to let some of the nation's military bases deteriorate if Congress blocks his plan to shut 50 more and trim 25 others. And he acknowledged that President Clinton's interference in the last round of closures has caused a political problem in getting Congress to go along with new closings.

Base closings are unpopular because of the loss of civilian support jobs. The last round, in 1995, caused bitterness when Clinton scratched a California base and a Texas base from the final list. His action saved jobs in two crucial political states but

USA Today  
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infuriated many lawmakers. As a result, many in Congress, especially Republicans, say they won't trust Clinton with a new list.

Bases can't be closed without congressional approval, Cohen said, "but there are a number of things that could be (done) in terms of simply allowing repairs to go unmade, and to allow some degradation and deterioration of the facilities." He said letting some installations go to seed is an alternative he is seriously considering if Congress doesn't authorize two more rounds of closings in 2001 and 2005.

The Pentagon says that unless bases are closed, it can't keep within budget limits and still modernize its ships, aircraft and other equipment. One recent study estimated that two more rounds of closings would free up \$20 billion a year for other military purposes.

## Fateful Crash in Africa: Link to U.S. Is Denied

New York Times

April 7, 1998

By Philip Shenon

WASHINGTON -- A former French government minister said on Monday that missiles from American stockpiles were used to shoot down a plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi in 1994, an act that led to a massacre that took at least 500,000 lives. The United States immediately denied that there was any evidence to support those allegations.

"The United States does not have any knowledge about the origin of the missiles which allegedly shot down the plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi four years ago," said a State Department official who insisted

on anonymity. "We categorically reject any suggestion that we would have delivered any missiles to the perpetrators of this heinous act."

The charges were made by Bernard Debre, the French minister responsible for dealing with African countries from November 1994 to May 1995. The allegations followed a report last week in a conservative French daily, *Le Figaro*, that the missiles had been seized in Iraq by French forces, not by American troops, and provided to Rwandan government forces.

In an interview with a French radio station, Debre said that two-Soviet-built SAM-16 surface-to-air missiles

that hit the plane in April 1994 had come from stocks provided to Uganda by the United States after American troops seized the weapons from Iraq in the gulf war in 1991.

His contentions were also denied by the Pentagon, which, together with the State Department, insisted that it knew of no evidence to suggest that the missiles had ever been in American or Ugandan stockpiles.

A spokesman for the Pentagon, Lt. Cmdr. Anthony Cooper, said he could not address details of Debre's comments, including his statement that the United States had turned over the missiles to Uganda. But Cooper said that "we categorically deny" the former minis-

ter's account.

It has never been established who downed the plane. Ethnic Tutsi rebels operating from Uganda had been fighting with forces dominated by the Hutu majority of Rwanda since 1990, and extremist Hutu leaders were unhappy with a peace accord that the French brokered in 1993.

The extremists used the crash, which killed Presidents Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi and the three-man French crew of the plane, which the French government owned, as a pretext for a massacre of at least half the estimated 1 million Tutsi in Rwanda.

Washington Times

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## General's accuser passes lie detector test

### Her sex claim didn't stop his retirement

By Rowan Scarborough  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The woman accusing retired Maj. Gen. David R. Hale of forcing her into a sexual relationship while he was on active duty in 1997 has passed a lie detector test.

According to an April 3 report provided to *The Washington Times* by the woman, Donnamaria Carpino, she answered truthfully two questions regarding her purported contact with Gen. Hale.

Gen. Dennis Reimer, Army chief of staff, allowed Gen. Hale to retire honorably in February as Army deputy inspector general, despite the fact the Defense Department inspector general was still investigating Mrs. Carpino's charges.

In the polygraph exam, Mrs. Carpino answered "no" to these questions: "Did you lie when you said Gen. Hale told you he was owed a favor by Gen. Reimer and nothing would happen with your complaints?" and "Did you lie when you said Gen. Hale forced you to

have oral sex and then [to deny it in writing] so you and your family could leave the country?"

The polygraph examiner, Danny W. Bragg, president of Security Secrets in Vienna, wrote, "It was the opinion of this licensed state examiner, based upon careful analysis of the test results, that the subject did not exhibit physiological reactions normally indicative of deception and was being truthful to the relevant questions asked."

"Oh yeah, no question about it. She's

telling the truth," Mr. Bragg, a former Virginia state trooper who has done over 8,000 polygraphs, said in an interview.

Mrs. Carpino, who was married to a colonel under Gen. Hale's command, has told investigators the general forced her into a sexual relationship by threatening to ruin her husband's career if she didn't consent. At the time, Gen. Hale commanded U.S. troops at a NATO command in Turkey.

She and the colonel, whom she divorced in November, quoted Gen. Hale as saying four officers had accused her ex-husband of adultery. She and her ex-husband now say they don't believe any officers ever made the accusations.

Gen. Hale's military attorney has declined to comment on Mrs. Carpino's

allegations, except to say the inspector general's office has said his client is under suspicion of maintaining an improper relationship.

The military bars the introduction of lie detector tests at trial, but the exams are used as an investigative tool. The Supreme Court upheld the military's ban in a ruling last week.

Mrs. Carpino said she took the test at her own expense because "I'm just trying to seek some kind of justice and not let them bury this with the good ol' boy network."

She added, "I took this on my own because they're all saying this is nothing more than a 'zipper violation.' I've heard comments from military people that I wanted it. I wanted to show in this polygraph that it wasn't consensual."

Mrs. Carpino, 44, said that after she threatened to report Gen. Hale in June 1997, he forced her to sign a document denying they had any sexual contact. She said he warned her he could have her son taken away from her if she did not cooperate.

"He said he could have [the colonel] relieved for cause, and it would ruin his career and livelihood," she said.

After The Washington Times disclosed the circumstances surrounding Gen. Hale's retirement, Defense Secretary William Cohen ordered the Pentagon general counsel to investigate the matter.

The Army has said Gen. Reimer was aware of the IG probe but didn't know the specifics when he approved Gen. Hale's honorable retirement.

Washington Post

April 7, 1998

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## Lawsuit in Aerospace Deal Cools Merger Mania

By Tim Smart  
Washington Post  
Staff Writer

The Justice Department's lawsuit seeking to halt the proposed \$12 billion acquisition of Northrop Grumman Corp. by Lockheed Martin Corp. of Bethesda has thrown cold water on an expected second round of consolidation in the defense industry.

Many industry experts thought that the combination of the two aerospace giants would be the last megamerger in an industry that has had more than \$60 billion in deals since the end of the Cold War, and that it would usher in a wave of combinations among smaller, so-called second-tier firms as they tried to become larger to survive in a shrinking industry.

Now, however, the Lockheed Martin lawsuit "is going to have a chilling effect on the consolidation phase," said Brett Lambert, senior vice president at DFI International, an aerospace consulting firm in the District.

In part, this is because the issues of increased vertical and horizontal consolidation that Justice lawyers have raised in their suit against Lockheed Martin would also surface in deals between smaller competitors. The Justice Department is seeking to stop the merger, arguing it violates antitrust law.

"The main focus of the merger trend in the defense industry is now shifting to the second tier," said Loren

Thompson, a senior fellow at the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution, a military policy group in Arlington. "However, this vertical integration concept the government has introduced makes consolidation there less likely."

That's not to say that companies have been idle in evaluating their options. The first question many are asking is whether Lockheed Martin will prevail in its fight with Justice, in which case further consolidation is likely, or whether Northrop Grumman can exist independently.

On the latter point there is considerable disagreement.

"They are a very viable corporation in their own right now," Pentagon acquisitions chief Jacques Gansler told reporters last month at the press conference announcing the Justice Department lawsuit.

Indeed, Northrop Grumman earned \$407 million in 1997, up 54 percent from 1996. As a primary supplier of aerostructures to Boeing Co., Northrop Grumman is enjoying the boom in civilian aircraft orders. And just last week, it won a Navy contract to upgrade the electronic receivers for the EA-6B Prowler anti-radar jamming aircraft.

About one third of the work under the \$144 million, seven-year contract will be done by subcontractor Litton Industries at its Amecom unit in College Park.

But some analysts question

### Defense Deals

The largest U.S. defense-related mergers and acquisitions:

Companies	Date of deal	Value of deal (in billions)
Boeing and McDonnell Douglas	Aug. 1997	\$13.4
Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman	July 1997*	11.8
Martin Marietta and Lockheed	March 1995	5.2
Allied and Signal	Sept. 1985	5.0
Boeing and Rockwell International	Dec. 1996	3.0
Martin Marietta and General Electric-Aerospace	April 1993	3.0
Northrop and Grumman	May 1994	2.1
Lockheed and General Dynamics-Fort Worth Division	March 1993	1.5
B.F. Goodrich and Rohr	Dec. 1997	1.3
P.A. Holdings and Pneumo-Abex	Aug. 1988	1.2

SOURCE: Securities Data

\*Pending

THE WASHINGTON POST

how successful a \$9 billion company can be in a world where Raytheon is the smallest of the Big Three, with some \$20 billion in sales.

"The real issue is: Can it thrive long term?" said Roger Threlfall, a defense analyst with J.P. Morgan.

If Lockheed Martin is allowed to merge but must still spin off valuable assets, there could be many suitors for Northrop Grumman's radar manufacturing plant in Linthicum, Md., analysts say. Britain's GEC PLC has expressed interest in pieces of Lockheed Martin or Northrop Grumman, but the Defense

Department has shown little inclination to allow foreign buyers to acquire sensitive high-tech military equipment plants.

One company that could be a buyer for some of the assets that might come to the market is General Dynamics Corp. of Falls Church. The company is flush with cash and has been making purchases in the under-\$1 billion range, focusing primarily on defense electronics. The anti-submarine warfare units of either Lockheed Martin or Northrop Grumman could be of interest to General Dynamics, given its position as a maker of surface ships and

submarines, sources say.

Other companies with significant interest in any of the pieces that might be available after the resolution of the Lockheed Martin lawsuit are ITT Industries' defense business, which has an avionics unit in McLean, and Litton Industries, a California-based company active in defense electronics. Litton has been making selective acquisitions, including its December purchase of the McLean-based Tasc unit of Primark Corp.

Lockheed Martin could face a less attractive future without

Northrop Grumman, according to Credit Suisse First Boston analyst Peter Aseritis. He wrote in a recent report to clients that Lockheed Martin will remain a strong competitor without Northrop Grumman, but that its growth in earnings will slow to single-digit levels in future years from the double-digit levels investors had been anticipating with Northrop Grumman added to the company.

JUST ABOUT four months after BDM International of McLean agreed to be pur-

chased by TRW Inc., the Cleveland-based automotive and aerospace company, executives have put the finishing touches on a new organizational structure.

Philip A. Odeen, the former BDM chief who will now be executive vice president of TRW's Systems & Information Technology Group in Fair Lakes, told employees in a recent memo that the unit will be realigned into five areas focused on their respective markets. These will be defense, energy, public sector, intelligence and commercial busi-

ness.

Although much of the work will be the same, the shift away from a program focus to a market focus will allow for a sharper relationship with customers, whether they are government or commercial buyers, Odeen said. The creation of an intelligence sector also recognizes the importance of that work to both TRW and BDM, Odeen added.

The company employs about 5,000 workers locally and does about \$3 billion in sales.

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## LOCKHEED, NORTHROP EXPECTED TO FILE COURT PAPERS SOON

By Vago Muradian

Lockheed Martin [LMT] and Northrop Grumman [NOC] by early next week are expected to file court papers responding to the Justice Department's suit seeking to block the proposed \$11.6 billion merger between the two companies, sources said.

In their filings, Lockheed Martin and Northrop Grumman attorneys plan to argue that the government's antitrust assessment was flawed. The case is being heard by Judge Emmet Sullivan of the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C.

Justice filed suit with the District Court on March 23 claiming that if allowed to conclude, the merger would create a new Lockheed Martin that would violate antitrust laws, stifling competition and thereby hindering national security.

Justice, which led the government's antitrust review of the deal, was supported in its analysis by the Pentagon which is the chief buyer of U.S. military equipment. Justice moved to block the deal on the recommendation of the Pentagon.

The companies, however, maintain that the government's analysis of the merger is not forward looking as required under Section 7 of the Clayton Act but an appraisal of past competitions (*Defense Daily*, March 26).

The companies are moving as quickly to be ready for trial as soon as possible. Justice for its part wants the trial pushed back to later this year, claiming it needs more time to make its case.

Sullivan has not yet set a trial date, although he is expected to do so when lawyers from the government and the companies reappear before him on April 15.

Sullivan appears to side with the firms in seeking an early trial on the grounds that the companies, which planned to merge by April 1, cannot be left hanging otherwise they face serious financial damage. Wall Street already has punished Northrop Grumman stock in particular, which has lost some \$2 billion in value since the government's opposition became public on March 9.

Additionally, Sullivan has ordered the Pentagon, which played a key role in the antitrust review of the merger, to hand over to the companies by April 10 the documentation that convinced the government to oppose the deal.

In two pre-trial meetings, Sullivan has repeatedly asked Justice whether they are certain that the matter must be resolved at trial or whether an acceptable settlement can be reached out of court. Justice, however, has rejected each suggestion that the deal be allowed to close with restrictions.

Washington Post

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## Russia Plans New Reactor In Iran, Official Says

Washington Post  
Foreign Service

MOSCOW, April 6—The new leader of Russia's nuclear ministry said today that Russia has proposed building a research reactor in Iran, in addition to the atomic energy station under construction there that has drawn protests from Israel and the United States.

Yevgeny Adamov, who recently replaced Viktor Mikhailov at the helm of the large and influential ministry, told reporters that a contract for the

research reactor was drafted in 1996 but still awaits approval from the two governments. Adamov did not provide details, but said the reactor would use uranium with enrichment of 20 percent or less, and said it would meet the requirements of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Russia has steadfastly rebuffed appeals from the United States and Israel that it halt nuclear cooperation with Iran, including construction now underway of the atomic energy

station at Bushehr. Russia and Iran have denied that the station could provide Iran with know-how or materials to build nuclear weapons. Iran is far behind in its share of work on the plant, and Russia recently said it will take over the entire project. Iran's delays have raised questions about whether additional reactors are feasible.

The United States recently persuaded Ukraine to drop work on a planned turbine for the Bushehr plant. Adamov said Russia should build the

research reactor to head off U.S. competition if relations improve between Washington and Tehran. He noted that U.S. wrestlers were recently in Iran, the first American athletes there since the Islamic revolution. "So, should we wait for Americans to come in 15 years and build a research reactor?" he asked. "No. I will try to convince our government and our president . . . that, after Bushehr, we have to do such a job too."

## Britain and France Ratify Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

Washington Post

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### Weapons Powers Bring Tally to 13 Nations

Reuters

UNITED NATIONS, April 6—Britain and France today became the first nuclear weapons powers to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), banning all nuclear weapons test explosions.

British Ambassador Sir John Weston and French Ambassador Alain Dejammet deposited their countries' instruments of ratification at a joint ceremony

at the United Nations.

The treaty, opened for signature Sept. 24, 1996, already has been signed by 149 countries and ratified by 13, but is unlikely to enter into force in the foreseeable future.

This requires ratification by 44 specifically named countries with a nuclear capability. Of these, six have ratified the treaty -- Austria, Japan, Peru, Slovakia, Britain and France. But three -- India, Pakistan and North Korea -- have not even

signed. The treaty has been submitted to the U.S. Senate for ratification.

India, which exploded what it called a peaceful nuclear device in 1974, has said it would not sign, arguing that the treaty does not go far enough in spelling out a timetable for global nuclear disarmament. Pakistan has said it would not sign unless India did so.

But the treaty provides strong moral and political pressure against nuclear testing.

British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook, in a statement in London, called the CTBT "a cornerstone of international efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation."

"Britain's ratification signals our commitment to the goal of a nuclear weapons free world," he added, urging all countries that have not yet signed or ratified to do so, whether or not they possess nuclear weapons.

## Iran and Iraq Begin Exchange of Prisoners

New York Times

April 7, 1998

By Douglas Jehl

CAIRO, Egypt -- In an important step toward resolving their bitter enmity, Iran and Iraq have begun a major exchange of prisoners held captive since the two Persian Gulf powers ended their long and bloody war a decade ago.

At least 4,000 prisoners have traded hands since the exchanges were first announced on Thursday, according to officials of the two countries and the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has been monitoring the handover at the border checkpoint of Khusrawi in western

Iran.

About 3,800 of those freed have been Iraqis held by Iran, which has the vast majority of those still in captivity. Until recently Iraq denied holding any Iranians at all, and that, together with bitter memories of the long war, has contributed to a deep and continuing distrust between the Iranian and Iraqi people.

As many as 1 million people are believed to have been killed or wounded in the war, and tens of thousands were taken prisoner.

Iran's foreign minister, Kamal Kharazi, said on Saturday

that the two nations had agreed to repatriate all remaining prisoners of war. He said the deal would free 5,592 Iraqi prisoners in exchange for 380 Iranians held in Baghdad.

The swap is already the most extensive since 1990, when the two countries exchanged 70,000 prisoners of war. But it remains unclear whether it will prove fully satisfactory to the two sides.

Even 10 years after the end of the fighting, memories of the conflict endure in both countries, and could well prove an obstacle to a complete rapprochement.

But the two countries have sometimes appeared to have been driven together in a kind of strange solidarity in large part by efforts by the United States to isolate both as international pariahs.

In recent years, for instance, Iran has often turned a blind eye to smuggling by Iraqi vessels that travel near its coastline in violation of international sanctions. And conservative Iranian commentators have praised the new prisoner exchanges as a sign that Iran and Iraq might begin to make common cause against shared enemies.

## Soldier's letter saluting public gives Army a lift

Richmond Times-Dispatch

April 6, 1998

Pg. 1

By Peter Bacque  
Times Dispatch  
Staff Writer

This is a story about different cultures and about modern life, about sacrifice and patriotism, and changing times.

It's about death, too, so it's a bittersweet story, one that has swept through the Army on the Internet, bringing up old memories of America's tragic experience with the Vietnam War.

It is not about people most folks in Virginia could be expected to know. But perhaps it is.

Jan. 14 poured out a barrel of trashy weather all over west-central Louisiana - rain, clouds, dense fog wrapping around the rolling ground and the piney woods - though the weather was of a piece with the days that had gone just before.

At Fort Polk, Charlie Troop, an M-1 tank outfit from the 1st Battalion of the 10th Cavalry, the original "Buffalo Soldiers," was slipping, grinding, splashing through the black night and the red mud. The soldiers were fighting a make-believe battle in the all-too-real world of "the Box" at

the Army's Joint Readiness Training Center.

Sgt. Daniel W. Slover dismounted from his tank to guide the turbine-powered steel rhino through the night wood. The 63-ton M-1 clipped a tree, uprooting it and sending it crashing down on Slover. Medics arrived only minutes later, but not in time to save his life.

Slover was only one of the hundreds of American servicemen and women who lose their lives on duty annually. Last year, 860 members of the U.S. armed forces died in the service of their country from all

causes, most in accidents.

When a soldier dies, the Army assigns other soldiers to escort the remains and ensure their respectful return to the family. First Lt. Daniel Ashley, a 25-year-old company commander from Cincinnati, drew the escort officer duty for Slover. The obligation required a two-day journey from Fort Hood, Texas, to Slover's hometown of Corbin, Ky. The loading, unloading and transportation of the remains required Ashley and his escort partner's presence.

Though more often than not



the escorts do not know the deceased, Ashley had been a tank platoon leader in Charlie Troop at Fort Hood, where the unit is based as part of the 4th Infantry Division. Slover had been his gunner.

Slover gave his life in training "to defend the ... code of morality and ethics he exemplified," Ashley said. "He was good at his job and he loved it. He never complained and always did what was asked of him.

Slover was "quiet, reserved, but focused," Ashley recalled. "He was one of those guys that would always shine."

When Ashley and Sgt. 1st Class James Rankin boarded their initial flight in Houston, they told the flight attendant about their duties.

"After explaining that it was necessary for us to depart the plane first upon landing, so as not to delay the cargo personnel unloading the casket, two gentlemen offered their seats in the first row of the plane for our last-row seats," Ashley said.

"This gesture left me speechless," he said. "I'm not so sure they even knew our purpose for having to be first off the plane, but with no questions [they] immediately sacrificed their front-row seats."

The flight home went through Atlanta and a change of planes. "Standing in our dress-green uniforms, we watched as the airline employees carefully unloaded the casket onto the cargo truck," Ashley said. "We met the cargo truck at the departure gate and again were escorted down to the tarmac to supervise the loading of our final flight.

"I noticed that we were being watched by the crowd awaiting the outbound flight. Not thinking much about it at the time, I scurried out of the cold and awaited the boarding call."

The second plane was booked tight, every seat filled. Ashley was seated in the back, his partner 10 rows in front. The flight attendant had assured the escorts she'd announce that they'd leave the plane first when it landed. Having been on full flights before, Ashley was certain that the travelers would ignore the

pronouncement.

"Passengers are normally elbow deep in the overhead compartments as soon as the wheels touch the ground," he said. "I was 100 percent positive I would be the last person off that flight."

When the airliner touched down in Knoxville, the flight attendant informed the cabin that two military escorts were on board and everyone had to stay in their seats until they left the plane.

"To my astonishment, not a soul moved," Ashley said. "I'd never witnessed such absolute silence in my life."

Many of the passengers turned their heads to the rear of the plane, but there wasn't a sound as the two soldiers put on their jackets, grabbed their bags and headed down the aisle.

"I realized then that all eyes were on us," Ashley said. "As we neared the exit, an older gentleman leaned toward us and broke the silence with something I will never forget. 'God bless you both,' "he said.

About a week after he returned from Sgt. Slover's funeral, Ashley sat down at a keyboard and started typing. "The intent of the letter was just to say thank you," he explained recently.

Speaking to the older man, he wrote this:

"I am, sir, most truly blessed. I have been afforded the opportunity to work alongside some of the greatest sons and daughters of our nation. We know and understand that each day presents the possibility of injury ... or death and we take all precautions to prevent them. But we sacrifice... because you depend on us.

"We train through the roughest of conditions, with minimum sleep and limited resources, anywhere at any time, to ensure we are always ready. We, sir, are most honored that you entrust us to defend your country.

"So I'm writing this letter to say thanks. Thank you, Delta Airline; thank you, gentlemen, for your seats; thank you, sir, for your blessings; and thank you, America, for your support.

"We as soldiers don't expect you to understand the ways in

which we live, train and fight," Ashley said. "We just ask for a 'thank-you' from time to time. A little appreciation from the people we're defending weighs more than a chestful of awards and medals."

The lieutenant e-mailed his letter to Time and Newsweek magazine. "Nothing ever came of that," he said.

However, his squadron commander asked Ashley to send him an electronic copy, and that started a chain that went from one end of the Army to the other, up to the Army's chief of staff at the Pentagon and down to a retired soldier working as a civilian instructor at Fort Lee.

"If I've gotten one copy, I've gotten 20 copies," said Maj. Gen. John G. Meyer, the chief of Army public affairs. "I turned around and forwarded it to a couple of my retired buddies, and their answer was, 'Put me back in, Chief.'"

For the past 15 months, Meyer said, the Army's image has taken a beating over the Aberdeen and Sgt. Maj. Gene McKinney sexual harassment cases.

Ashley's letter caught his attention because "it demonstrates we're here to serve the American people," Meyer said. At the same time, "it demon-

strates that the American people care about their military. It sounds funny, but ... it made soldiers feel good that America cares."

Meyer served in Vietnam, a conflict that saw protesters trying to burn down university ROTC buildings in Virginia and soldiers with rifles guarding the Pentagon against thousands of protesters.

Vietnam left an exceedingly bad taste in the mouths of soldiers who are now the Army's senior leaders, and it colored the past 30 years of the Army's relationship with its nation.

Ashley's testament "brought a lump to my throat," said Army veteran Mark Smith, now a civilian instructor at Fort Lee, "and a flood of memories to my mind as I recalled [the] deaths of numerous Army buddies. I served for 2 1/2 years in Vietnam, primarily with the 5th Special Forces Group, the Green Berets. Our casualty rate was very high.

"The American public who we soldiers believed we were serving, were not as friendly to us then as the passengers in the airplane were to the military escorts," Smith said. "I felt then that the nation was, against me, the Army, the government.

"I'm delighted that times have changed."

Washington Post Apr. 7, 1998 Pg. 18

## Russian Predicts START II Ratification

**MOSCOW**—The speaker of the State Duma, the lower house of parliament, predicted it would ratify the long-delayed START II arms control treaty before adjourning this summer.

Gennady Seleznev told the Interfax news agency that closed-door hearings would be held in the next few weeks, followed by an open debate. Seleznev, a Communist, said the treaty is likely to be ratified because it "meets Russia's interests."

The treaty has been approved by the U.S. Senate.

USA Today April 7, 1998 Pg. 4

**CLINTON AND YELTSIN CONFER:** President Clinton spoke with Russian President Boris Yeltsin for 30 minutes, a conversation Clinton spokesman Mike McCurry described as "good, vigorous, productive." The phone call marked the first communication Clinton has had with Yeltsin since the Russian leader made wholesale changes in his government last month. Yeltsin's actions sparked concern about his mental and physical health. McCurry indicated that Yeltsin seemed fine during the chat, in which Clinton reviewed his recent trip to Africa and Yeltsin gave his assessment of confirmation prospects for his new prime minister-designate, Sergei Kiriyenko. Clinton is scheduled to meet with Yeltsin at next month's G-7 meeting of industrialized nations in Birmingham, England. — Bill Nichols



# ACRI for Africa

Washington Times

April 7, 1998

Pg. 17

**By James L. Woods**

One of the most important aspects of the president's trip to Africa was to engage Africans in a discussion of how to work more effectively together in peacekeeping and conflict resolution. The current although not exclusive American vehicle for promoting and supporting such cooperation is the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI). Some reporting has characterized African reaction as negative, and as casting doubt on the ultimate acceptance and viability of the initiative. But that is far from what is really happening.

More African states have already committed to participate in ACRI than have opposed it. To date, Senegal, Mali, Uganda, Ghana, Malawi and Ethiopia are participating and several other countries are considering participation. At the recent OAU meeting where some opposition was noted with alarm by the press, only 31 countries of the OAU's total membership of 54 were even present, and only Nigeria, Sudan and Libya opposed the thrust of the ACRI initiative. And that opposition represented mainly a political attack on the U.S. by countries with which we presently have poisonous relationships.

The resolution finally adopted at the OAU meeting requested the OAU secretary general monitor the various initiatives aimed at enhancing Africa's peacekeeping capacity and work closely with the U.N. in this respect with a view to ensuring that the OAU's views and concerns are addressed. It also stressed that any initiative aimed at enhancing Africa's capacity in peacekeeping should take into account the primary responsibility of the U.N.'s Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security, and asserted that such initiatives should be situated within the framework of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. I see nothing unreasonable or confrontational in any of these conclusions.

The decisions to participate in ACRI are being made by the individual countries concerned, and even the Nigerian foreign minister noted, in his statement to the OAU, that he did not intend to denigrate any attempt to enhance the capability of any individual country in peace support operation. It is imperative that Africa take its destiny into its own hands. Clearly, ACRI will better position the participating African states to do just that.

At the March 27 joint press conference of Presidents Clinton and Mandela in Cape Town, Mr. Mandela was asked about the ACRI. His comments are of great importance: We support the initiative very fully, he said. All that South Africa is saying is that a force which is intended to deal with problems in Africa must not be commanded by somebody outside this continent. "I certainly would never put my troops under somebody who does not belong to Africa. That is the only reservation I've had. Otherwise, I fully accept the idea." It's a measure of the interest which the U.S. takes in the problems of Africa that the only difference is this one about the command of that force.

In its current configuration, ACRI does not involve creating a force. Rather, it is an initiative to build capacity, initially by training line battalions and providing them some non-lethal equipment such as communications gear, later presumably to train those specialized elements that would be needed in a higher headquarters. How these capabilities would be assembled, tasked and used would be African decisions; there was never any intent to provide an American commander.

At the moment, Congress is properly assessing the usefulness of the ACRI and making up its mind as to whether to continue to give it an endorsement and further funding support. In my opinion, Congress should give ACRI a strong thumbs up. It is contributing in an immediate and practical way to the capabilities of participating African

units to engage effectively in Chapter VI-type peacekeeping operations. Those capabilities can later be used, or not used, as the Africans themselves determine, in an hoc coalition, as part of a sub-regional peacekeeping effort, as part of an OAU-directed operation, or as part of a United Nations-directed operation.

The ACRI is not splitting Africa into Anglophone-Francophone or sub-regional blocs. It already has two Francophone countries participating, and participation covers countries from West, Southern and East Africa. Nor is ACRI a competitive effort by the U.S. to somehow assert its predominance in Africa. The United States is working closely with the French and British governments to ensure that ACRI is complementary to military and peacekeeping training conducted by those partners in Africa. And the doctrine and operational concepts of ACRI have been fully discussed at and draw heavily on the peacekeeping expertise of the U.N. and the OAU. In addition, the ACRI is a sensible and economical way to help the international community add a valuable option of local forces handling local emergencies within their own means. It is certainly not intended to shirk the responsibility of the broader community, whether exercised through the U.N. or otherwise, if local capabilities and financial resources are not up to doing the job alone.

In brief, the ACRI is very much alive and well. The Africans are cautiously embracing it, step by step, and as it proves its worth pragmatically on the ground we can expect very broad participation indeed. The key question is whether Congress will see the continuing value of this initiative, and continue to give it support and funding. It would be a pity should the Congress instead choose to slay ACRI when it is barely out of the cradle.

*James L. Woods was deputy assistant secretary of defense for African Affairs from 1986 to 1994.*

Washington Post

April 7, 1998

Pg. 22

## The Case for NATO Expansion

Critics have sought to give the impression that serious debate about NATO enlargement has never taken place and that the United States and its allies have failed to address important questions about Russia and the future security environment in Europe.

More than 1,000 articles published during the past year and a half have covered all aspects of NATO's evolving role. More than 300 conferences on NATO enlargement have been held in Europe and North America, including sev-

eral in Russia. Twelve hearings before Congress in the past six months -- with more than 550 pages of testimony -- have explored the details of NATO's mission and membership and examined arguments from every point on the political spectrum.

Critics charge that NATO enlargement will poison relations with Russia. This might

be true if NATO were seeking to isolate Russia, but the opposite is the case. Through the Partnership for Peace and the newly established NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council, NATO has created a network of security cooperation that has engaged all the states of Europe -- even former neutrals. The new NATO gives Moscow a chance to move

away from the old Soviet pattern of confrontation to one of real partnership in Europe.

NATO-Russian relations are better and show more promise today than they have at any time in the past 50 years. They encompass everything from planning for joint action in civil disasters to joint military operations in Bosnia. And they are still developing. How counterproductive it would be if we undercut Boris Yeltsin's courageous decision to cooperate with NATO by bowing to the pressure of Russian hard-

liners. That would strengthen the anti-democratic elements in Russia and encourage the belief that the Allies, in the face of Moscow's bullying, had returned Central Europe to a gray zone of instability and limited sovereignty.

As we work to adapt NATO to better fit the security environment of the next century, we understand that we must preserve the essential feature that has made this the most successful alliance in history -- the integrated military structure and its capacity for collective defense. The three new members we have invited will sig-

nificantly improve the alliance's defense capabilities. And having so recently regained their freedom after decades of totalitarian oppression, they can be counted on to stand with us, not just in defense of NATO territory but when the values we share are threatened -- as they did recently during the confrontation with Iraq.

In postponing the vote on ratification for several weeks, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott declared that his intention was to "get a focus on the issue." It is proper to ensure a fair debate of the issue, but as

Sen. Jesse Helms noted in sending the bill to the floor of the Senate, now is the time to act.

No one who favors democracy should want to keep the lines of security drawn in Europe where Stalin marked them in 1945. NATO enlargement is the right policy for the United States and the right policy for the future of democracy in Europe.

ALEXANDER VERSHBOW  
Ambassador  
U.S. Mission to NATO  
Brussels

San Diego Union-Tribune

April 6, 1998

## America's fading armed forces

By V.H. Krulak  
Copley News Service

Fast-moving events around the world underscore the seriousness of America's military situation. An overnight turnaround in Moscow, where old apparatchiks are replaced by young technocrats, with Boris Yeltsin behaving like a modern-day Joseph Stalin and reminding us, once again, that Russia is the inheritor of the world's largest arsenal of intercontinental weapons.

Iran and Iraq, both feasting on the West's good will and forbearance, with the fuse of Mideast ethnic violence burning shorter and shorter. Bloodshed in Serbia's Kosovo province and North Korea announcing proudly that it now has not one, but two rockets capable of striking not only our ally in South Korea, but Japan, as well.

These things by themselves are disquieting, but the gravity of the international situation is only brought into stark reality by the fact that we, the United States, are weaker -- far weaker -- in a military sense, than we were five, six or 10 years ago. And, to make it worse, our emphasis is in the wrong areas, almost counterproductive, and our combat capabilities continue to degrade.

A few examples. Our military is 40 percent smaller today than it was six years ago. It is smaller for several reasons beyond funding limitations. It is smaller primarily because of

overuse, overcommitment and lack of material resources. President Clinton has actually increased the funds allocated to the military, but much of the money is spent, not on building up an emasculated and tired force, but on humanitarian tasks, such as Peace Corps operations and buying blankets for the homeless.

Without challenging the validity of these diversions, it is plain that with them -- or without them, for that matter -- we cannot execute the two-major-conflict military strategy that we profess.

Despite its reduced size, the military is called on to operate at a pace three times more intensive than five years ago. With all of today's feel-good and peacekeeping diversions, we could not duplicate what we did in Desert Storm seven years ago. The critical elements of our forces are too attenuated. A budget shortfall of \$11 billion per year has left the fighting forces gravely hollowed out -- the Air Force reduced from 35 tactical wings to 20; the Navy is down some 180 ships since Desert Storm; the Army, some 40,000 short of its personnel needs, has troops deployed in 100 places worldwide with severe shortages in critical areas -- rifle squads, tank and armored vehicle crews.

And the impact of all this on the people who do the fighting is severe. The Navy, having missed its re-enlistment and retention goals for the better part of two years, is suffer-

ing from shortages in the key enlisted ranks on which its high-standard technical performance depends. The Air Force says it will be short some 350 pilots by year end. The Army, with the lowest recruiting year in the last seven, has still had to cut back on its goals. The result is a hollow, albeit hard-working, Army, troubled by overworked equipment and concerned about where the replacement equipment is coming from.

And, finally, there is the bedrock issue of the lower rank troops not knowing, for dead certain, just why they are asked to put their lives on the line. Of all the problems, this is the most troubling -- more so than materiel shortages, more so than intensity of daily activity

or the prospect of physical hazard. Army Lt. Gen. Thomas Schwartz told his troops that, since he saw no serious external threat until 2020, his priorities would be improving family support, creating better opportunities for single soldiers and increasing the number of women in the ranks. These are, every one, laudable objectives, but they have to be appraised as secondary to the essential reality of what the troops are in uniform to accomplish.

That reality is this: Our armed forces must exist, not as instruments of social change, but as hard, trained soldiery, prepared to fight our country's battles, large and small, wherever they are found, and to come home alive and victorious.

Baltimore Sun April 7, 1998 Pg. 16

## Too many bases, too few decisions

■ **Cohen plea: Pentagon must discard waste to modernize, if Congress is willing.**

**I**N THE DECADE since the Cold War ended, the number of Navy ships has shrunk 46 percent, but the number of berths for them only 18 percent. Maintaining bases costs money, which depletes funds for training or new

weapons. When the bases have no military purpose, retaining them weakens national security and national resolve.

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen is trying to address this problem by asking Congress to approve two rounds of base closings, in 2001 and 2005, to reduce the nation's 400 military bases by about 40. Four previous rounds dating to 1989 closed 97 bases. The cuts will save \$25 billion by 2003. The greatest hits have been taken, but the job is not done.

The Defense Department assumes a stable budget over coming years. But to modernize and train, it needs to find savings. This is how:

An independent commission, the Base Realignment and Closure program (BRAC), insulates the military from the political process. A base deemed superfluous may still have congressional supporters but insufficient military justification.

The Defense Department has learned from recent closings, some of them painful to communities,

how to cushion the blow and help local jurisdictions adapt the land to new economic purposes.

Private-sector businesses can be ruthless about downsizing. The Pentagon is less so. Unfortunately, a Congress that is loudmouthed about maintaining sufficient resources for national security doesn't seem to care about it when the chips are down.

Mr. Cohen wanted the next two rounds of closings in 1999 and 2001, but Congress said no. He is asking again. But the bloated highway and transportation bill just passed by the House of Representatives suggests that Congress is in no mood to act responsibly when pork is in the barrel.

It is impossible to predict what enemies will confront this country in 2005. But whoever they are, they will be reassured in knowing that Congress weakened the United States by devoting resources to unnecessary bases instead of using the money for preparedness.

Unless, of course, Congress allows the military brass to determine what bases they need.

Washington Post

April 7, 1998 Pg. D3

## **The Reliable Source**

By Ann Gerhart  
and Annie Groer

### **Now You Know ...**

Defense Secretary Bill Cohen will throw out the first pitch Friday at Fenway Park when the Boston Red Sox play the Seattle Mariners. The Sox have a late home opener because Boston weather can be so dicey.

Appearing with her Maine man (Republican Cohen spent 18 years representing the state on Capitol Hill) on the sidelines will be his wife, Janet Langhart, who had a popular Beantown TV show years ago.

A former high school and college pitcher, Cohen says he will practice a bit: "I'll go out here on the Pentagon playground and get my chief of staff and see if the arm has anything left."

Washington Times  
April 5, 1998 Pg. 8

## **NATO chief praises Bulgaria**

SOFIA, Bulgaria — NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana has praised Bulgaria's reform progress and said the former Warsaw Pact member had a solid chance of joining the Western defense alliance in future rounds of expansion.

"The NATO policy of open doors for new applicants will continue. ... To me, your path of reform is a good lesson in pragmatism and political will," he told a news conference.

"It is moving in the right direction," he added, summing up a two-day visit to the Bulgarian capital during which he met President Petar Stoyanov and Prime Minister Ivan Kostov.

"Your government has demonstrated a strong will to integrate with European and Atlantic institutions," the former Spanish foreign minister said.

## **Seeing Pollard: Navy is being doubled-faced**

No one likes to be misled (the polite word for "lied to"). Even less so when your own government does the "misleading." It's particularly grating when the governmental deception is as dumb as it is blatant.

I'm talking about a request the Daily News made to the Pentagon for me to interview Jonathan Pollard, the former Navy intelligence aide found guilty 12 years ago of spying for Israel and given an unbelievably harsh life sentence. Ever since, Pollard's requests for clemency have been turned down by the White House.

So have The News' requests to see him — at least under normal free press conditions. We've agreed to the presence of a Navy monitor, but the government insists it can take possession of our tapes and notebooks and review the interview before it's published. It's their right, officials say, under a plea-bargain deal Pollard signed before he was sentenced — a deal the government obviously reneged on when he was given a life term.

**RICHARD Z.  
CHESNOFF**

New York  
Daily News  
April 7, 1998  
Pg. 17

Then, in December, The News learned two Israeli journalists had accompanied an Israeli government minister visiting Pollard and, unhindered by any restrictions, asked interview questions. So we applied again — and was given a runaround. When we pressed Navy General Counsel Steven Honigman, he crankily replied: "I will respond to you as soon as we are ready to do so."

Finally last week, Honigman replied. He not only turned down the interview request again, he denied the Israeli newsmen had ever had interview access to Pollard. The Israelis, he said, "were specifically instructed that they could ask no questions ... and, in fact, they did not do so."

That's outrageous. I have spoken with one of the Israeli journalists, Ehud Yaari, Israel Television's respected senior correspondent. He assures me that, without restriction, he asked Pollard questions and broadcast the responses in Israel. One of the major items they covered: Pollard renewed his demand that Israel finally acknowledge him as an official agent. (Pollard, for his own reasons, insists Yaari's questions were merely "clarifications.")

So what does the Navy say? Even if it happened "inadvertently," that's no grounds for an American newsmen to interview Pollard "unencumbered." Double outrage!

Why doesn't the government want Pollard to speak out? Why has he received a far harsher sentence than people who've spied for enemies like the Soviet Union? Whatever his motivations, Pollard broke our laws and deserved punishment. But as renowned Rabbi Alexander Schindler recently wrote in the magazine Reform Judaism, there's a "line where justice ends and vindictiveness begins." I agree with him that

Pollard's case has crossed that line.

There is some new support for Pollard. Israel is finally pressing his case, and there are friendly voices on Capitol Hill. Some, like Connecticut Sen. Chris Dodd, remain opposed to clemency. Others like Connecticut's junior senator, Joe Lieberman, are less than heroic about getting involved.

But there is growing support for mercy. New Jersey Sen. Bob Torricelli tells me he plans to visit Pollard. "This is a matter that needs to come to a conclusion. If the purpose of Pollard's punishment was to send a message about the price of betrayal, then the point's been amply made."

This Passover season of freedom and Easter season of renewal is a perfect time for President Clinton either to grant Pollard clemency or let it be known that he favors parole. It's also high time the government allowed American journalists to talk to this man freely.

## Embassy Row

by James Morrison

### Balkan dominoes

Macedonia's visiting defense minister is worried about falling dominoes if the turmoil in Kosovo spreads.

"If this is not prevented, it could create a domino effect in the entire Balkans," Lazar Kitanoski told Defense Secretary William S. Cohen.

The Albanian majority in the neighboring Serbian province of Kosovo has been protesting for weeks against Serbian repression. Serbian police have responded violently.

Mr. Cohen assured the Mac-

Washington Times Apr. 7, 1998 Pg. 12

edonian official that the United States plans to keep troops in his country past Aug. 31, the date when the mandate for the U.N. peacekeeping force expires. The United States has 350 troops and Scandinavian countries another 350 that act as a tripwire to prevent the spread of the upheaval that has wracked much of the former Yugoslavia.

The peacekeepers were sent to Macedonia in 1992.

"We think that an extension of Unpredep [the U.N. Preventive Deployment mission], in the short term at least, is the appropriate course of action," Mr. Cohen said.

Mr. Kitanoski holds a 10 a.m. news conference today at the National Press Club.

# Government, industry debate security codes for Internet

By M.J. Zuckerman  
USA TODAY

ATLANTA — Two of the most powerful representatives of government and industry threw themselves into the debate over encryption Monday. The director of the CIA and the head of IBM agreed only that the future of the Internet is at stake.

CIA Director George Tenet, in his first public comments on the issue, bluntly told a gathering here that "U.S. industry has to get off its butt" to resolve its stalemate with government over the use of software to scramble, or encrypt, computer data.

In a speech that followed Tenet, IBM CEO Louis Gerstner Jr. said the government must act first and "end its internal debate and speak to the industry with one voice."

The comments are the latest in the increasingly pointed battle over encryption.

National security and law enforcement officials want industry to build electronic "keys" into encryption software, allowing government to easily decode data linked to criminal or national security investigations.

But industry and privacy advocates, and some in Congress, say the keys could fall into the wrong hands and be used to expose such personal information as medical records, credit card numbers and private correspondence.

Tenet and Gerstner made their comments to 800 CEOs and security experts at the Sam Nunn NationsBank Policy Forum at the Georgia Insti-

tute of Technology.

The forum, sponsored in part by the former four-term U.S. senator from Georgia, is the first major effort to bring government and industry together to resolve the differences over information technology.

Tenet raised the government view: Terrorists could plot death and destruction with the help of encryption.

"We are staking our future on a resource we have not yet learned how to protect," he said.

Gerstner depicted destruction of a different kind: "a future threat to our national economy" if government is successful in forcing industry to turn over encryption keys.

"It is simply impossible to overstate how much is at stake" in securing the future of the Internet, Gerstner said. He compared its potential with that of "the printing press, radio, the light bulb or manned flight." But the potential is not inevitable, he said: "It depends on government policy."

Currently, several bills, some of them pro-privacy and some pro-law-enforcement, are making their way through Congress. A version of a House bill says third parties, other than the sender or recipient, must hold electronic keys to encrypted information. The keys then could be seized by authorities.

The White House has supported what it considers a compromise, a leading Senate bill. That proposal requires authorities to get a court order, not just a subpoena, to seize a key.

USA Today  
April 7, 1998  
Pg. 2

Defense News  
April 6-12, 1998  
Pg. 2

## Japan, Russia To Explore Military Exercises

Japanese Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto and Russian President Boris Yeltsin are expected to discuss possible joint military exercises when

they meet later this month.

Yeltsin is to visit Japan April 11-13, and his agenda is to include discussions of potential joint training in humanitarian activities such as disaster relief. Such an exercise is seen as a first step by the two traditional enemies to build confidence.

## Lawyers Want Wiretaps Thrown Out In Spy Case

Washington Post

April 7, 1998

Pg. 11

By Brooke A. Masters  
Washington Post  
Staff Writer

Wiretap evidence against a District couple accused of spying should be thrown out because federal agents exceeded their authority when they listened to the wife making play dates for her children and talking to her father about his health problems, lawyers for the accused spies told a federal judge yesterday.

Lawyers for Theresa Marie Squillacote, 40, and Kurt Alan Stand, 43, also said at the hearing in Alexandria that the FBI didn't have enough evidence to justify bugging their clients, because neither was spying for a foreign power

when the FBI began its taping in 1996.

Squillacote, Stand and their college friend James Michael Clark, 50, have been held without bond since October on charges of conspiracy to commit espionage. The government alleges that they passed documents to East Germany before it ceased to exist in 1989 and that they later sought to work for Russia and South Africa. Squillacote and Stand also have been charged with attempted espionage in connection with an FBI sting.

"There's no proof until [the FBI] did their sting that either Terry or Kurt ever provided a single classified document to anyone," said Lawrence S.

Robbins, who represents Squillacote.

All three defendants are scheduled for trial July 10, and each could face a maximum sentence of life in prison.

Stand's and Squillacote's lawyers are seeking to have the evidence from 550 days of wiretapping thrown out, which would damage the government's case.

Under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, the FBI can get a secret warrant to bug homes, phones and offices if the bureau has evidence that someone is an agent of a foreign power or actively helping a foreign agent. But law enforcement officials must get the court's reauthorization every 45

days and must limit their surveillance to avoid intruding on people's privacy, defense lawyers said.

Robbins said that the FBI taping failed to prove that his client was a spy and that the wiretaps shouldn't have been reauthorized. "It was a total bust," Robbins said.

But Assistant U.S. Attorney Randy I. Bellows told U.S. District Judge Claude M. Hilton that the FBI had more than enough evidence to justify bugging the three defendants and that agents fast-forwarded through tapes of irrelevant conversations.

Hilton did not say at the hearing when he will rule on the defense request.

Los Angeles Times

April 6, 1998

## U.S. Agency Has Plan to Catch Spy Turncoats

By Paul Richter  
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON--The chief government agency responsible for keeping potential spies off U.S. government payrolls believes it has a better way--one that would cost less money while improving the odds of identifying potential turncoats.

But others involved in the spy-catching business fear that instead, traitors might be able to elude capture for longer because of new, less-exacting techniques.

Unclear is whether the new procedures might have mattered in the case involving Douglas F. Groat, a fired CIA officer who was arrested Friday. Groat, a disgruntled member of the CIA unit that breaks into foreign embassies to steal code books before he was fired in 1996, and who was charged with tipping off two countries that the CIA had cracked their codes, had long been regarded a security risk, sources said.

More careful interviews with co-workers and superiors, however, might have caught Aldrich H. Ames and Harold Nicholson, two mid-level CIA

officials who began selling secrets partway through their careers.

With spy-catching budgets being squeezed, reformers at the Defense Security Service, the agency responsible for checking the reliability of workers in jobs with access to sensitive information, are pushing the efficiency plan. They would substitute quicker--but less thorough--telephone conversations for many of today's in-person interviews of neighbors and social acquaintances.

These efforts to gather information from nongovernmental sources yield little, the reformers argue. What's worse, they keep investigators from devoting enough time to talk to employees' bosses and co-workers, who--in a series of major spy cases--have been much more likely to have leads on the traitors in their ranks.

Officials at other agencies, including some within the Pentagon, view the plan as a misconceived product of the Clinton administration's cost-conscious push to "reinvent government." Agencies that

safeguard security will have hell to pay, they warn, if it appears later that new spy cases have gone undetected because of such corner-cutting.

"The best way to guarantee security is the slow, careful way--the way we've been doing it for 40 years," said one official of the Air Force, which so far has resisted efforts to change procedures.

A government task force of representatives from all the agencies in the business of granting security clearances will first address whether the Defense Security Service can adopt the proposed reforms. Only later will the task force determine whether the new approach should be implemented government-wide.

Despite the Cold War's end, the issue is not just academic. High-profile spy cases have continued year after year, and security officials believe many people with government secrets will be tempted by countries that are economic as well as military rivals.

About 3 million federal employees and contractors have security clearances, with ratings of "confidential," "secret," "top secret" and even higher.

The Defense Security Service carries out more than 250,000 background clearances

a year for the military services, defense contractors and some other defense organizations. It investigates all prospective hires for sensitive jobs, and every five years it reexamines those already on the job.

Investigators check government databases for criminal records and also ask about marital and other family problems, drug and alcohol abuse, financial difficulties and mental afflictions. The CIA, FBI and Office of Personnel Management undertake background checks in other parts of the government.

In the first decades after World War II, the security agencies put great emphasis on initial investigations, which they hoped would spot prospective employees who might have sympathies with Communist governments or other adversarial regimes.

But today, spies are far less likely to be ideologically driven and more often simply mid-level government workers who, because of financial, family or other problems, decide they want to cash in on their confidential information. It is in such cases that the periodic reinvestigations are particularly important.

Because of its long emphasis on initial background checks, the Defense Security Service for years has had huge

backlogs, often numbering in the tens of thousands, of incomplete five-year update investigations.

To spend more time gathering this kind of information, officials of the Defense Security Service are proposing to stop interviewing neighbors and to use telephone interviews with the references offered by prospective employees. They would like to do the same with the secondary sources whose names are derived from those interviews.

Margaret Munson, the agency's director, said that interviews with neighbors have in the past taken up about 12% of the agency's resources yet generated only 0.1% of the unique information.

"That's a significant amount of resources devoted to an area that really netted us very little," Munson said.

The agency proposal, which it hopes to make government-wide policy, largely follows recommendations issued in 1997 by a special commission on government secrets chaired by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.).

Others in the government security business—including some veterans within the Defense Security Service itself—take a more skeptical view. They contend, for example, that in recent high-profile spy cases, neighbors and friends knew information that could have been key to grabbing spies.

In the case of Ames, for example, neighbors in the Washington suburb where he lived knew that Ames had paid \$540,000 in cash for his home—a tip-off that he had financial resources beyond his CIA salary.

Likewise, Washington neighbors of Theresa Marie Squillacote, a Pentagon lawyer nabbed for espionage with her husband and another man in October 1997, said in interviews after her arrest that they were aware of the leftist convictions that drove her to leak secrets. Pentagon co-workers of Squillacote said in interviews at the time of her arrest that they thought her to be a liberal Democrat but hardly a committed radical.

There is no substitute for in-person interviews, according to

this camp, even if they are expensive. "When you sit down with people and watch their faces, when you visit neighborhoods yourself, you'll always pick up a lot more information," said a veteran defense investigator who asked not to be named.

This investigator said his office had been scaling back the number of in-person interviews conducted in background checks, unbeknownst to some of the federal agencies that would employ the subjects of the interviews.

Officials of the Air Force, the National Security Agency and the office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff are resisting the drive to streamline the background investigations and scale back the number of in-person interviews. Other security agencies are expected to follow

suit when the procedures are formally proposed later this year to a group that sets federal security policies.

And some lawmakers have looked askance at the proposal. The reform "poses some concerns for us," said a staff member at the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Officials of other security agencies, speaking with a guarantee of confidentiality, attribute the proposal to pressures for streamlining that have built up on the Defense Security Agency for years.

Formerly called the Defense Investigative Service, the agency became a target for reductions at a time when defense contractors and federal officials complained that cost and time involved in background checks were crimping their performance. A few years

ago, then-Defense Secretary William J. Perry called security a "barnacle on the ship of acquisition."

The agency has shrunk from a peak of about 4,300 employees in the mid-1980s to about 2,500 today, and it was recently reorganized as part of Defense Secretary William S. Cohen's drive to streamline the defense agencies.

John Donnelly, who retired two years ago as director of the agency, said that as the defense budget shrinks, the agency must either lobby for more money or "find ways to cut these face-to-face interviews that are expensive and take up agent time all over the country."

But, he acknowledged: "If you have to compromise, there will be some loss of quality."

San Diego Union-Tribune

April 6, 1998

## Diplomat cites changes in global politics

### *Non-governmental entities' role grows*

By Susan Gembrowski  
Staff Writer

CAMP PENDLETON -- International politics in the post-Cold War era has much to do with diplomatic cooperation as military conflict, the U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs said yesterday.

Thomas Pickering told 320 people at Camp Pendleton that the changing political milieu can be attributed to the emergence of non-governmental organizations as international players, such as the campaign to ban land mines. Another key trend reshaping traditional politics is the information revolution, Pickering said.

"International broadcast news increasingly shapes the workload and perspective of foreign policy-makers," he said. "The much-discussed 'CNN effect' reduces government response time and compresses the decision-making cycle."

Pickering gave the keynote address at a conference for military personnel, government officials and representatives of private volunteer organizations to discuss how to handle com-

plex humanitarian emergencies worldwide.

"Traditional concerns -- the nation's security and the balance of power -- remain important, but new concerns, especially transnational threats, will increasingly affect our work," he said.

Pickering added that most of the 100 armed conflicts since the end of the Cold War have been internal affairs. Rather than working in Western Europe to negotiate arms reduction deals, U.S. military forces have been deployed to Haiti, Somalia, Bosnia, Albania and Liberia to support international peacekeeping missions, evacuate Americans or respond to food shortages, for example.

"Soldiers are deployed but not asked to fight," he said. "They engage not in 'battlescape' but in a zone of action strewn with political land mines."

Diplomats, too, are learning to cope as they deal more often with leaders of failed states or de facto regimes than in traditional state-to-state negotiations.

While emphasizing the continued need for U.S. leader-

ship, Pickering also stressed cooperation among government officials, military leaders, civilian groups and international organizations to ensure success in humanitarian endeavors.

The United States needs to carefully consider stepping into conflicts, while learning that the costs of ignoring situations -- he pointed to the mass killings in Rwanda and Central Africa in 1994 -- "can be steep in both monetary and human terms," Pickering said.

Pickering became undersecretary last year as part of a diplomatic career that began in 1959. He held high-level jobs in the Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan and Bush administrations before being tapped by President Clinton.

He served most recently as ambassador to Russia, a post he assumed in 1993, and also held ambassadorial posts in India, Israel, El Salvador, Nigeria and the United Nations.

Pickering, 66, is one of only two people to hold the rank of career ambassador, the diplomatic equivalent of a five-star general. He speaks fluent French, Swahili and Spanish and is conversant in Arabic and Hebrew.

Pickering played a role in the Iran-Contra affair during Ronald Reagan's presidency, testifying before a congressional investigating committee that he assisted in arranging a



secret donation of more than \$1 million in military equipment to the Nicaraguan Contra rebels. At the time, a congressional prohibition on Contra aid was in effect.

The fifth annual "Emerald Express" symposium will con-

tinue at Camp Pendleton through Friday. Topics include encountering diverse cultures, technological impacts and the land mine challenge, African and Pacific regional politics and dealing with violence.

Washington Post April 7, 1998 Pg. 18

## Mine Explodes at Russian Embassy in Latvia

**RIGA, Latvia**—The explosion of an antipersonnel mine outside the Russian Embassy in Latvia dealt a further blow to Latvia's deteriorating relationship with Russia and reduced the likelihood of Latvia's joining the European Union in the second wave of enlargement.

The blast, which followed international controversy over a reunion of Latvian SS veterans and the bombing of a synagogue, has damaged the country's reputation and led to claims that fascism is on the rise here.

New York Times (Education Life Supplement) April 5, 1998

Pg. 24

# The Joys of Recognition: A First Name and a Bathrobe

By Michael Winerp  
The New York Times

WEST POINT, N.Y. — They were looking forward to the handshake that would make them half human again. For months the plebes had been counting down the time to their Recognition handshake on Recognition Day.

"It's huge," said Mike Burgwald, a first-year cadet. "I can't wait to be able to talk on the way to class."

"Very big," said Franz Doaman. "It'll be cool to stop racing through the hallways like a rat."

On Recognition Day, at approximately 18:10 hours, March 12, for the first time since the new cadets arrived last summer, the upper classes would shake their hands and call them by their first names.

From that moment on, plebes would no longer have to wear their parka hoods over their heads when they went outside or memorize the front page of The New York Times by 6 each morning. They wouldn't have to recite every item on the dinner menu verbatim or get to morning formation by 6:15, 10 minutes earlier than the rest of the Corps. When they would wake at night and have to go to the bath-room — and every last one of them was looking forward to this — no longer would they have to put on a full uniform first.

"What's Recognition to me?" Vince Lee said. "Being able to wear my flip-flops to the bathroom."

Getting through West Point is no picnic even for seniors, but for first-year cadets here and at other service academies, life may be as close to a monastic experience as can be

found anywhere in America outside the Roman Catholic Church.

A social life? "Nothing," said Robert McFarren. "Nothing at all." He had gone to the first plebe dance last fall with hopes. "There weren't that many girls," he said. "I left early."

And it is not just males who suffer at a school where they outnumber females six to one. Rules on fraternizing are strict and so bewildering, for many, that it's not worth risking a relationship with a class-mate. "If I just talk to a guy, I get accused of being a big frat," said Angela Alongi. Her e-mails to her mother in Arkansas begin, "Here I am in my little gray cell. . ."

"They say we're socially retarded," said Mike Burgwald, "which is totally true. I can see that." Asked what he did for relaxation on weekends, Vince Lee said, "One of my little escapes from West Point — I sit back, smoke a cigar and pretend I'm somewhere else."

After nine months as plebes, many were still wondering if they had chosen the right life. Doaman, Burgwald, McFarren, Alongi and Lee all went through Beast basic training together and were warned by their squad leaders.

Their first Beast leader, Chris Plekenpol, a junior, wears a T-shirt that says: "Sex Kills . . . Go to West Point and Live Forever." Their other Beast squad leader, Sean Scott, had predicted that when they went home for Christmas, they would be amazed by how much they had missed in the real world. First semester, they weren't even permitted stereos or radios in the room.

"When I went home," said

McFarren, "my high school friends were talking about that Barbie song." ("I'm a Barbie girl in the Barbie world.") "It had gone up and down the charts, and I didn't know what it was."

Most studied until midnight, were up by 5:30 and still were not doing as well as they had hoped. "I'm not used to so much work," said Richard Fox, an 'A' student in high school with 1330 SATs, who was struggling to maintain a 'B.' Of the 1,199 who started, 105 were gone by March 1. From their Beast squad, Franz Doaman was in the most trouble, on academic probation for failing chemistry. "I feel like I'm hanging by a thread," he said.

To add to their misery, most had been singled out by upperclass members for repeated hazing. Traditionally, that ends with Recognition, but there were a few upperclassmen that Richard Fox felt were so mean-spirited, he was thinking of not shaking their hands at the ceremony and telling them what he thought.

Come Recognition, Alongi was looking forward to walking the halls without getting chewed out.

"I don't venture out too far," she said. "If you're going to see somebody and you forget something, you have to go all the way there, before you can turn back to your room. It's so frustrating. You have to think ahead all the time. But — this is weird — I'm starting to see the reason for it. It makes you pay attention to detail. They constantly yell at us for not having our uniforms right. Then I woke up late one morning — I dressed in five minutes. I could do it. The nagging helped."

She's also noticed her

reading habits changing: "When I look at the paper now, I read the stories on Iraq, B-52 bombers, anthrax."

Most institutions that endure — and West Point, the nation's oldest service academy, will reach 200 in 2002 — appear to stay the same while constantly remaking themselves.

This happens in both small ways — for the last few years, plebes have gone to a Web site to memorize what articles are on the front page of The Times — and in ways that go to the heart of the place. For several years, the big push by West Point's leadership has been to make the academy more like the regular Army, which would seem an obvious goal, given that the school's mission is to turn out Army officers.

And yet, a fair amount of what plebes experience in the months before Recognition has nothing to do with the Army and a lot to do with fraternitylike hazing traditions of murky origin. Over time, some of those rules have been codified, and some are just passed on by word of mouth from class to class. When Brig. Gen. John P. Abizaid became commander of cadets last summer, he noticed that plebes were the only ones running around with their white gym socks pulled up to their knees, super-geek style. He asked a senior cadet why and, getting no good answer, suggested that either the entire Corps pull up its gym socks or drop the haze. Socks have been dropped.

The concern, says Abizaid, is that upper-class cadets are learning leadership by bullying and humiliation, rather than by example. Studies as recently as 1997 on academy grads, who

make up 16 percent of all Army officers, "show young West Point officers require a certain amount of retraining when they reach the Army," Abizaid said.

The reason is obvious to Vince Lee, a plebe who served three years as an Army enlisted man before coming to West Point. At 22, he is as old as most senior cadets. Having been a private in the Army, he dreamed of West Point and was accepted on his third try.

But he's been disappointed. One of the things he loved about the Army was that everyone in a unit, from private to lieu-tenant, pulled together to get a job done. At West Point, he says, it's the upper-class cadets vs. the plebes.

"There's always this hint of mock and disdain for plebes," he said. "If degrading your subordinates is the only thing you've learned, that's what you'll do in the Army. There are cadets here, when they get their first Army unit, they better keep looking over their shoulders — their soldiers are going to hate them."

Abizaid is working to make the plebe's status more like an Army private's and less like a recruit's pledging a secret fraternity. For this reason, he is considering making this year's the last Recognition Day. (The practice apparently dates to World War I, though even a West Point historian, like George Pappas, has trouble tracking these traditions.) Recognition marks the end of the big hazes, and if those are eliminated, the rite of passage will become promotion to cadet corporal at the end of their first year.

At the same time, in line with changes in the Army, Abizaid intends to make Beast physically tougher next summer, including more road marches and more bivouacking. Asked if he expected the Beast attrition rate, which was the lowest in memory in 1997, to go up, he said, "We do." The key, he says, is making sure people drop out for the right reasons.

Angela Alongi almost left for the wrong reasons. At the start of first semester, the 32 plebes in her company were crammed into a dorm room trying to figure out the best system for delivering their

unit's laundry, while outside the door, the upperclassmen screamed at them.

"I noticed people started coughing," said Alongi. "My throat started hurting, then people were crying." Someone had blown tear gas into the plebes' room. Alongi had problems breathing and was taken to the hospital. "They locked down the entire battalion," she said. "They said, 'This is not how you treat subordinates.'" Weeks later, she learned a sophomore in her company had admitted doing it. "She said she meant it as a joke," said Alongi. (The cadet had all privileges, including leave, revoked for six months.)

Gradually, Alongi has built a sense of be-longing through the crew team, Christian Fellowship and teaching Sunday school. Asked how she was holding up, she said, "I'm making it."

Perhaps the most successful leadership innovation in recent years came in the early 1990s, when each plebe was assigned a sophomore mentor, or team leader. Two things were accomplished. First, the plebe got to know at least one upperclass member and so was less isolated. And the upper-class team leaders had an incentive for their plebes to succeed — they were being graded on how well they helped the plebe.

"Team leaders are gay for their plebes," said Franz Doaman. He has needed it. While classes are small, typically 12 to 18 students, and professors available for tutoring daily, plebes need to ask for help. That has been a hard lesson for Doaman, who tends to keep to himself. First semester, he quietly flunked chemistry.

His team leader second semester, Jarrett Beck, is a very determined cadet. Doaman reports to him each morning at 6. They are quite a pair. Doaman, at 6-feet 5, is a foot taller than Jarrett Beck. Doaman is a New Yorker; Cadet Beck is from Grove, Okla. Doaman is no athlete; Beck is a wrestler. Doaman is black; Beck is white.

Still, Beck understood what was ailing his plebe. He also nearly flunked out his first plebe semester. "I dreaded a

lot," Beck said. He set out to organize Doaman, ordering the plebe to get an appointment calendar for starters.

"He's like, 'Sir, I'll get it today!'" Beck recalled. "That night, Doaman didn't have it. Next day, 'Sir, I'll get it today!' Didn't have it. So I put him on a PT program" — extra pushups and situps. Doaman got it.

"I have every hour of the day planned out now," Doaman said in mid-February. "Beck — he's cool. I still have to call him 'sir,' but I don't have to call him 'sir' every sentence. I can talk to him like a regular person." In the weeks before Recognition, when they were together, Beck called his plebe "D."

"Only when no one was around," he said. "It's not professional to call someone 'D.'"

Mr. Doaman says he has not felt prejudice here, being black, but has felt extra pressure. Well-intentioned white officers have told him they're pulling for him because the Army needs more African-American officers. At a family Kwanza party during break, he could see how impressed two black professional men were, when they heard he was at West Point, and he read dismay in their eyes when he said he was having academic trouble. His mother's advice has helped him finally relax.

"Franz," she said, "you're doing this for just one person — yourself." Still, he has worries. Twice he was knocked out in boxing class and taken to the hospital with a concussion. He will have to retake boxing next semester. And while he is doing better retaking chemistry, he said, "We're just getting to the part where I had trouble last semester."

It is not as bleak as it can sound from outside. The days drag, but the weeks fly. "The aura of the place is starting to appeal to me," said Shawn Corcoran, who started slowly. West Point was not his first choice. He would have picked Harvard or Stanford if he had been accepted and had planned to reapply to them during his plebe year. He is quite bright but was constantly questioning everything during Beast and did poorly on his military grade, ranking 930th in his

class. The low point came one day as he marched in formation, suddenly spotted his father and started waving.

But as the school year began, he caught on. First semester, he had a 3.54 grade point, placing him in the top 10 percent. He's thinking of trying for scuba school, one of the toughest summer training programs, and did not apply to transfer. "It's very important to learn to play the game here," he said. "You can only be yourself in your room or with other plebes. To juniors and seniors, you should be a silent drone that moves around."

Mr. Corcoran has learned to do what he can with what he has. "I can't get drunk, I can't be with that hot girl, but I don't let that dominate my thinking," he said. "At the plebe dance, a bunch of us danced together in a group — it was fun." He can sense himself changing. "A lot of guys here have the attitude, 'Don't date a cadet; they're not feminine.' But you couldn't apply that across the board. There are a few. And once their hair grows back, they're starting to look better. Either they're starting to look better, or I'm starting to get more used to the place."

To embrace stoicism is to learn to revel in small moments. They are not allowed to watch TV, so they use their computers to beat the system, calling up "South Park" episodes on the Web, then viewing with their headphones on.

"You learn to appreciate every little thing," said Jeff Gallo. "Getting my first A on a paper, my friend helping me in chemistry, sitting around talking with your buddies after you finish a math project. Even traffic jams. I'm driving to see my girlfriend at UMass — I'll be stuck in traffic in Hartford. I roll down the window, put up the music — it's relaxing compared to this place."

Shortly after 18:00 hours, they began pouring out of the barracks, 4,000 of them dressed in long, gray, caped overcoats. The night air was cold, the moon full. They could see their breath. At 18:10 they were in formation, and by 18:16, the first captain gave the Recognition order. Plebes marched to the front, facing the upper

classes of their companies. Then the senior cadets began walking by, shaking each plebe's hand.

"Hello, I'm Bob. Hello, I'm Jack."

Mr. Fox smiled and shook every hand. A few who had hazed Mr. Gallo hard said, "Nothing personal, Jeff," and he smiled, though he was thinking, "Yeah, right."

Dinner was sirloin steak. Afterward, in the hallways, the

smell of cigar smoke was strong. The nine from the old Beast squad had arranged to meet on the first floor of Bradley Barracks. Though it was freezing, many had changed into gym shorts, just for the joy of being in the hallways out of uniform. Upperclass cadets kept walking by, paying them no heed.

"This is weird, just standing here," Mr. McFarren said. They could not stop smiling. They

walked together to Eisenhower Barracks, to see their old Beast squad leader, Chris Plekenpol, who had planned his own Recognition ceremony for them. He had written a 16-page poem, which he read aloud: "New Cadet Corcoran gave me a headache from the start/Waving in formation, I ripped this kid apart. . ."

Then he called them all by their first names. That first week at West Point, they

thought he was the Beast himself, but now Ms. Alongi looked at him and said, "You're so mushy." They filled canteens with water and made funny toasts about each other, as they had done in Beast, and then they took their leave, heading off in nine different directions. For her part, Ms. Alongi decided she would just walk up and down the hallways for a while, alone.

Washington Times

April 7, 1998

Pg. 3

# Accused spy sought immunity

## Peddled skills abroad after CIA fired him

By Bill Gertz  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Former CIA official Douglas F. Groat sought immunity from prosecution in discussions with agency lawyers about a failed intelligence operation and also sent letters to foreign governments offering his services as a security consultant, according to documents obtained by The Washington Times.

Mr. Groat, who was charged with espionage on Friday, outlined his seven-year dispute with the CIA in a letter to Rep. Porter J. Goss, Florida Republican and chairman of the House Intelligence Committee.

"I have met with representatives of numerous foreign governments, and have sent letters to others offering my knowledge and expertise, as a consultant to their countries, in the field of crypto security," Mr. Groat stated in the April 10, 1997 letter. Crypto security refers to the protection of equipment used to scramble and unscramble coded messages.

The letter, which was also sent to the Senate Intelligence Committee, did not identify what countries were contacted.

In a separate, undated letter, Mr. Groat offered to help foreign governments secure their cryptographic equipment for a fee.

The memo was written to an unidentified "security supervisor" and headlined "subject: Handling Sensitive Classified Material."

It stated that while employed for 16 years as a CIA specialist in breaking into foreign facilities, Mr. Groat secretly gained access to "extremely sensitive information from crypto systems of select foreign countries."

"The intelligence produced from the information I gathered was disseminated on a strict need-to-know basis throughout the highest levels of my government," Mr. Groat stated. "Your country was one of my targets."

No countries were listed on the memo, which stated that because he had been fired from the CIA, Mr. Groat was offering "my knowledge and expertise in the field of crypto security to your country."

The letter offered to "protect your most sensitive data" but also stated that "I can not and will not discuss how, when or where I may have been able to gain access to the information on your country during my employment with the agency." Doing so would violate his U.S. government secrecy agreement, he said.

"Please consider this an offer to work as a security consultant for your country," Mr. Groat said.

Regarding the employment dispute, Mr. Groat asked James A. Zirkle, CIA associate general counsel, in one letter that he be granted "immunity for my cooperation with the agency from the Justice Department" once a separation settlement is reached.

"Once immunity is granted, I will openly and fully discuss any subject regarding my agency employment you, or anyone else, may wish to raise," Mr. Groat stated in the Nov. 11, 1996, memorandum.

In response, the CIA offered Mr. Groat an eight-year contract with annual payments of \$50,000 through 2003 if he would agree to

present a sworn statement "regarding the compromise of the sensitive operation that has been the subject of our ongoing counterintelligence investigation," according to a letter from Mr. Zirkle dated March 24.

The CIA lawyer also said any settlement would require Mr. Groat to "cooperate fully and truthfully and provide all information known to you regarding the compromise of any intelligence activity, including but not limited to criminal acts."

Also, the CIA asked that Mr. Groat "not contact, nor seek to accept employment with foreign governments, or foreign governmental entities."

Mr. Groat, 50, was charged with four counts of espionage and one count of extortion involving two foreign nations and efforts to blackmail the CIA into providing him more than \$500,000, according to court papers.

He pleaded not guilty to the charges during a U.S. District Court hearing Friday. Another hearing is set for Thursday. Prosecutors have said that if convicted of the charges, Mr. Groat could receive the death penalty.

An intelligence official familiar with the case said Mr. Groat was fired from the agency in October 1996 after he refused to take a polygraph test and for taking home classified documents.

The documents show that the negotiations were part of CIA efforts to deal with a delicate problem of a disgruntled employee with detailed knowledge of how CIA spies operate in breaking into foreign government facilities.

Mr. Groat replied in an April 3, 1998, letter that he was rejecting

the offer and repeated his offer to cooperate with the agency "once immunity is granted."

In a Nov. 11, 1996, letter to the agency, Mr. Groat wrote: "Because I questioned the poor operational

judgment of an inept, insecure manager, I lost a career I thoroughly enjoyed, the benefits that went with it, a comfortable retirement and my marriage."

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**Palestinian officials cleared Israel of involvement in last week's killing of the top Hamas bomb maker. They said rivals in the military wing of the Muslim militant group shot the man, then blew up his body. Three suspects are in custody. Hamas leaders rejected the findings and said retaliatory bombings against Israel won't be canceled.**

## Captain makes waves at retirement

### Coast Guard brass responds with anger to PC bias charge

By Rowan Scarborough  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A Coast Guard captain who dared to speak out at his retirement ceremony against political correctness is feeling the wrath of top brass.

Retired Capt. Paul J. Prokop began his address in typical farewell fashion, recounting 32 years of service, thanking his wife with flowers and praising shipmates.

But it was his stunning ending that upset the leadership, rippling from the Coast Guard's 8th District in New Orleans, where he retired, to the commandant's headquarters in Washington.

"Why quit now?" he rhetorically asked a hundred or so people gathered as his boss, Rear Adm. Timothy W. Josiah, looked on.

"Unfortunately our commandant is accelerating us headlong down the path of political correctness. Primary consideration in selecting officers for assignments and promotion are now gender and race. . . . I have come to realize that I am far out of step with my superiors and can no longer support them or this organization that I value and love."

Capt. Prokop said in an interview he was especially upset over the results of an admiral's promotion board that selected a black captain over others he believes are more qualified, himself included.

Adm. Josiah, who commands the 26-state 8th Coast Guard District, held his anger a few days, then wrote Capt. Prokop an admonishing letter on Feb. 19. The two-star admiral also convened a series of meetings with fellow Guardsmen to rebut the captain's attack. Capt. Prokop said he's been ostracized and receives no invitations to Coast Guard social events.

Videotapes of such speeches normally go to the retiree. But this

cassette headed north to Washington to the office of Adm. Robert E. Kramek, the commandant. Capt. Prokop said it was "confiscated."

"I'm now persona non grata," he said in an interview. "They know there are other officers who don't like this, and they want to suppress it. Somebody needed to say it, and nobody on active duty can say it or their career will be over."

"Look what they did to a guy who retired. Think of what they'll do to a guy on active duty."

Capt. Prokop said he received an "obnoxious" letter from Adm. Josiah, his longtime friend and Coast Guard Academy classmate, written in the form of an official memorandum.

"Your words were disrespectful and a disparagement to all minority and women officers as you expressed that merit was not a major consideration in their promotion or assignments to command positions," Adm. Josiah wrote his former chief of staff.

"Your unexpected, highly offensive remarks placed them in an extremely awkward and embarrassing position — particularly those who did not actually hear your comments before making their presentations. Your conduct brought significant discredit upon the Coast Guard and served to humiliate many of our finest personnel and strongest civic supporters."

Adm. Josiah is due to pin on a third star and become the Coast Guard chief of staff in Washington once his nomination is confirmed by the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee.

The Coast Guard is within the Department of Transportation, whose former secretary, Frederico F. Pena, made homosexual rights and diversity in hiring high priorities. The department is now run by Rodney Slater.

Capt. Prokop said his early re-

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irement was mainly spurred by the actions of a Coast Guard admirals promotion board. Meeting in August, the panel, which included Adm. Josiah, picked five captains, among them the service's first black admiral selectee.

Adm. Kramek, whose four-year tour as commandant ends May 29, stated early on one of his top goals was to "place diversity in the Coast Guard at center stage."

Capt. Prokop said Adm. Kramek promised Mr. Pena there would be a black and a female admiral before his term expired. The Coast Guard said the pledge relating to a female admiral was fulfilled by having a female admiral in the Public Health Service assigned to the Coast Guard.

"It wasn't that I didn't make it. It was who made it instead," said Capt. Prokop, who nows runs his own courier company.

In his speech, Capt. Prokop said, "The great promise of America is that everyone gets to compete on a level playing field — and let the best man or woman win. . . . Our leaders have decided that we cannot wait — that we must move certain classes of officers ahead of those who have outperformed them. I abhor that decision with every fiber of my being."

In an interview, Adm. Josiah labeled Capt. Prokop a "disgruntled retiree."

"We don't promote people who aren't qualified for those jobs," said the admiral, adding the criticism of the admiral's board was "amazing to me because he doesn't have the benefit of seeing the records of the other candidates."

"If he's been ostracized, it's because of the negative impact of his own words," Adm. Josiah said.

The 36,000-person service is 6.6 percent black and 9.6 percent female. The Coast Guard's mission includes drug interdiction, water safety and emergency response.

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